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INTRODUCTION

The Paris Agreements, and particularly the Saar Statute concluded between Premier Mendes-France and Chancellor Adenauer, have been hotly debated in public print as well as in the respective legislatures of France and Western Germany. Interest was then centered around the referendum to be held in the Saar over the Statute as provided in the Agreements. Despite prior warnings, considerable misgivings were voiced over the meaning of the decisive nature of the rejection of the Saar Statute in the referendum. Aside from dissolving the Saar solution concocted by the statesmen, the vote raised a number of new questions; one of the most important being whether the referendum meant Saar rejection of the ideal of European integration.

At the instance of the American Embassy, Paris, and with the consequent cooperation of the American Embassy, Bonn, the U.S. Department of State, and the United States Information Agency, the study here reported was devised.

In addition to the answers provided by the survey, it is further noteworthy in that it represents the first public opinion survey in the Saar utilizing the most modern sampling design to be conducted by a public opinion institute duly registered in the Saar. The survey was conducted between February 16 to March 3, 1956 and the findings are based upon a 821 case area probability sample, representative of the Saar population 18 years of age and over. Interviewing was done by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b. H., Neukirchen, Saar, an affiliate of the German survey organization working under contract with the Research Staff, Office of Public Affairs, American Embassy, Bonn.

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SUMMARY

From the evidence at hand in this survey of public opinion in the Saar, it can be confidently stated that there was not a clear-cut understanding of what was at issue in the October referendum over the Saar Statute. An actual majority either viewed the question as some sort of contest between France and Germany or had no opinion as to what the issue was about.

With this as the background for the vote, it should not occasion any surprise that only one-quarter thought that the vote had any affect on the prospects for the unification of Western Europe. Among those who did think it had an affect, the great majority thought that it had made such unification more likely! The idea of European unity has great appeal in the Saar. Well over three-quarters (more than in Western Germany) expressed themselves in favor of this goal.

Despite their high support for the idea of unification of Western Europe, the Saarlanders are apparently following the maxim of "first things first" and want to get the territory back under German administration before considering any further goals such as European integration. This is seen in the fact that 70 out of 100 chose return of the Saar to the Federal Republic, whereas only 5 out of 100 selected membership of the Saar as a separate state in a federation of European nations as the best proposal for the eventual solution of the Saar problem. Interestingly enough at least one fourth (and perhaps as much as 40%) of the population is willing to grant France special economic relationships when the Saar returns to Germany.

While Saar ranking of various countries follows the order previously found in Western Germany, the absolute level found favorably disposed towards the United States is considerably lower than that found in Western Germany.

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Section I. - The October Referendum and European Unity

LESS THAN HALF CITE OFFICIAL PROPOSITION AS ISSUE IN OCTOBER REFERENDUM....

There is ample evidence to sustain the suspicion that the waters of the October referendum were considerably muddied before the Saar population went to the polls to vote on the acceptance or rejection of the Saar Statute. When asked to state in their own words what the question was in the referendum, less than half (44%) mentioned the official issues. Almost as many (41%) considered it in terms of a choice between France and Germany, while the other 15% either gave some extraneous reason or had no opinion at all on what the vote was all about.

"Can you tell me what the question was in the October referendum on the future of the Saar District?"

SUMMARY TABLE

Official Issues		44%
Saar Statute	31%	
Europeanization of Saar	7	
Independence for Saar	6	
Unofficial Issues		41
Integration with Germany	18	
Choice between France and Germany	13	
Vote for or against the Hoffman government	5	
Vote for or against France	3	
The treaties with France	2	
Other Issues		3
Trade agreements	*	
Miscellaneous	3	
No Opinion		12
		100%

Not only do the above figures give weight to the belief that the pro-German parties in the Saar successfully clouded the main issue for the populace, but careful reading of the actual reasons given by the respondents (see below) shows that even for many who cited the official issue, a number either appeared to lack an adequate understanding of what they were saying, or considered the "real" issue one of those given under the unofficial issues of the campaign.

"Can you tell me what the question was in the October referendum on the future of the Saar District?"

OFFICIAL ISSUES	44%
The Saar Statute	31%
"About the ratification of the Saar Statute; I don't know any details."	
"Whether the Saar Statute which was worked out by the French and the German governments should be ratified or not"	
"Saar Statute, whether yes or no"	
"Rejection of the Saar Statute"	
"Saar Statute, whether to accept or to reject it"	
Europeanization of the Saar District	7
"It was about the Europeanization of the Saar (Saar Statute)"	
"Saar Statute, that is whether people agreed to or rejected the Europeanization of the Saar"	
"The referendum was to decide whether the Saar should be Europeanized or not"	
Independence for the Saar	6
"The Saar Statute - a referendum on the status of the Saar as an independent state. What it actually meant was whether the French can go on exploiting us."	
"Whether the Saar is to stay by itself or not."	
"Whether we want to stay on our own."	
UNOFFICIAL ISSUES	41
Integration with Germany	18
"As far as I'm concerned it was whether we would return to Germany"	
"Whether we want to return to the Reich or not. It's Hoffmann or Germany."	
"Well, everybody knows that: whether we want to be re-integrated into Germany."	
"Whether we are for or against being reintegrated into Germany"	
"For or against the Saar becoming a part of Germany."	

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Choice between France and Germany 13%

"Whether we want to belong to Germany or to France."
"No or yes, whether we should be a part of France or of Germany."
"Should the Saar District be integrated into France or should it belong to Germany."
"A referendum on whether the Saar District should be integrated into France (yes), or into Germany (no). Europeanization was just a pretense."

Decision for or against the Hoffmann government 5

"It was yes or no for the Hoffmann government."
"To overthrow the Hoffmann regime."
"Whether the present Saar government is to stay in power or not."

Decision for or against France 3

"It was a definite decision on the future of the Saar By voting 'yes' we would have sold ourselves to France."
"About the Saar Statute - if it had been upheld, we would have been sold to the French."
"We voted for or against the French."

Commercial treaties with France 2

"Whether the economic relationship with France should be maintained."
"Whether commercial agreements with France and the present currency were to be maintained."
"The question was whether the present economic relations with France should be continued."

OTHER ISSUES 3

The trade agreement *

"The trade agreements which were contained in the Saar Statute were put to a vote."
"It was about the trade agreements."

Other answers 3

"It wasn't stated openly, but what this referendum meant was whether the Saar should be separated from Germany."
"The Saar Statute was only concerned with the exchange of goods between the Saar and France and it was rejected."
"In my opinion the referendum was to decide a possible political integration of the Saar into France."

NO OPINION-NO ANSWER 12

100%

* Less than one half of one percent.

THREE-QUARTERS ARE SATISFIED WITH RESULTS OF OCTOBER REFERENDUM....

Three-quarters of the Saar populace (74%) is satisfied with the results of the October referendum on the Saar Statute, and only one-tenth (10%) is dissatisfied. It should be noted, however, that half of those who were dissatisfied (5% of the total population) were dissatisfied because the results were not more pro-German! This same reason was mentioned by one-third of those who were only "somewhat" satisfied with the referendum results (13% of the total).

"All in all, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the results of the referendum in October on the Saar Statute? (Very or only somewhat?)"

Very satisfied	40%
Somewhat satisfied	34
Somewhat dissatisfied	7
Very dissatisfied	3
Don't know	16
	100%

PRO-GERMAN VOTE MAIN CAUSE FOR SATISFACTION....

The reasons advanced by those who were satisfied with the results make clear that they took satisfaction from the "pro-German" vote. That is, they either brought up the "desire to be reunited with Germany" (28%) or voiced the pique that the vote "should have been even more pro-German" (13%). Another sizable group (19%) rejoiced because the results were "what most people in the Saar wanted them to be".

"All in all, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the results of the referendum in October on the Saar Statute?"

Unless "Don't know":
Why?

SUMMARY TABLE

Reasons	People who were: Very or somewhat satisfied	Somewhat or very dissatisfied
Pro-German vote	28%	-
Should have been more pro-German	13	5
In accord with public opinion	19	-
Rebuff to France	5	-
Statute rejected	-	2
Miscellaneous	7	3
No opinion	3	1
	75%@	11%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"All in all, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the results of the referendum on the Saar Statute?"

IF "Very satisfied":
"Why?"

Because we decided for a reunion with Germany:	20%
"Because now we can hope to be reunited with the Federal Republic."	
"Because the people wish to return to Germany."	
"Because the people of the Saar district thereby demonstrated their love of Germany."	
"Well, because I'd rather belong to Germany than to France."	
"Our wish to become part of Germny again has been fulfilled."	
"Because the separatists are finished after this."	
Because the vote was in accordance with popular desires:	14
"The results were what most people in the Saar district wanted them to be."	
"In spite of all obstacles, the will of the people has manifested itself clearly."	
"Because that's how we wanted it to be."	
"Considering that Frenchmen still live here, the result was very good."	
"Because the results were as good as I had expected."	
Because the outcome is a rebuff to France:	2
"Because it is a rebuff to France."	
"Because we want to get rid of the French."	
"Because we can't be turned into French citizens now."	
Other comments:	4
"Because almost all people have realized that it wasn't right how things went before."	
"Because the Saar Statute was no European Statute."	
"Because now that the Saar has ceased to be a bone of contention, the path towards a united Europe is clear."	
No opinion, no answer	1
	41%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"All in all, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the results of the referendum on the Saar Statute?"

IF "Somewhat satisfied":
"Why?"

Because we decided for a reunion with Germany: 8%

"Because a reunion with the Federal Republic was made possible by it."
"Because we were German before and want to be German citizens again."
"Because we are Germans at heart."
"We are German! Now, perhaps, the borders will be opened."

Because it was a rebuff for France: 3

"Because we want to get rid of the French in every field."
"The German parties were given a chance to dislodge the French from their dominant position."
"The pro-French trend has been halted."

Because the vote was in accordance with popular desire: 5

"Because the results were what we wanted them to be."
"Because the majority was against it."
"Because most people voted against the Statute."

Because the results could have been even more pro-German: 13

"The results should have been even more clearly in favor of Germany."
"The referendum didn't state clearly: for Germany or for France?"
"I'm only somewhat satisfied, since the CVP still has too many seats."
"Because it wasn't as good as the results in 1935."
"Because the results weren't one hundred percent for Germany."

Other comments: 3

"Nothing has changed yet."
"We don't know yet what is to come."

No opinion, no answer 2

34%

"All in all, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the results of the referendum on the Saar Statute?"

IF "Somewhat or very dissatisfied":
"Why?"

Because the results could have been still more pro-German:	5%
"Because the number of pro-German votes wasn't high enough. The CVP had been misleading people."	
"Because too many people voted for France."	
"They all should have said 'no'. I mean they should have voted against the statute."	
Because the Saar Statute was turned down:	2
"I would have preferred Europeanization of the Saar so that this bone of contention between Germany and France could be removed."	
"I was in favor of the idea of Europeanization."	
Other answers:	3
"Because the general economic situation will deteriorate."	
"Because Hoffman achieved quite a lot and people didn't appreciate it."	
"Because things weren't done the correct way. Among those voting 'no' many people were bribed."	
No opinion, no answer	1
	11%

ONLY ONE-QUARTER THOUGHT VOTE HAD AN AFFECT ON UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE....

Only one-quarter (26%) of the Saarlanders considered the October referendum to have had any affect on the prospects for unification of Western Europe. The largest percentage (43%) simply did not think of it at all in this context and answered "don't know" to the question of whether or not the vote had an affect, while the remainder (31%) thought that it did not have an affect.

"Does the October referendum, in your opinion, have an affect on the prospects for unification of Western Europe, or doesn't it?"

Yes, does affect prospects	26%
No, does not	31
Don't know	43
	100%

THE VOTE AIDED UNIFICATION IN EYES OF THOSE SEEING AN AFFECT....

Surprisingly enough three-quarters of those who thought that the vote had an affect on the prospects for unification of Western Europe believed that it made such unification more likely!

"Do you think it makes unification of Western Europe more likely or less likely? Very much or only somewhat?" (asked only of those answering "yes, does affect prospects.")

Very much more likely	8%	31%
Somewhat more likely	11	44
Somewhat less likely	4	14
Very much less likely	1	3
Don't know	2	8
	26% =	100%

SAARLANDERS OVERWHELMINGLY FAVOR EFFORTS TO UNIFY WESTERN EUROPE....

An overwhelming percentage of the Saar population (78%) are in favor of efforts toward the unification of Western Europe, as against a minuscular 3% who would oppose such efforts.

These proportions are considerably higher than those found among the West German population during 1955. In February and in December 1955, an average of about 70% favored such efforts in West Germany, while the percentage in opposition was twice that for the Saarlanders (i.e., 6-7% in West Germany). Only in October 1954 when the idea of West European integration was apparently at its height in Western Germany, do the figures for West Germany equal those revealed for the Saar.

"Are you in general for or against making efforts toward the unification of Western Europe?"

	Saar	Western Germany			
	Feb 56 (821)	Sept 52 (1591)	Oct. 54 (836)	Feb 55 (820)	Dec 55 (813)
For unification efforts	78%	70%	82%	73%	69%
Against	3	10	4	7	6
Don't know	19	20	14	20	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

THOSE FAVORING EFFORTS FOR INTEGRATION HAVE CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN THE IDEA....

More than eight-tenths of those expressing themselves as in favor of efforts to integrate Western Europe say that they have "great" or "very great" interest in the idea. This is three-quarters (74%) of the entire Saar population. Only one in a hundred says that he has "very little interest", and two in a hundred "don't know".

"How much interest would you say you have in the idea of unifying Western Europe - very great interest, great interest, some interest, or very little interest?" (Asked only of those for unification efforts.)

Very great interest	23%	29%
Great interest	41	53
Some interest	11	14
Very little interest	1	2
Don't know	2	2
	78%	= 100%

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION DESIRED AS FIRST STEP....

A majority of the population (51%) - but two-thirds of those favoring efforts for unification - consider economic integration as the place to put the most emphasis at the present time. The merging of governments comes in a poor second (18% of the total population), while very few consider military integration as the place to begin (3%).

"In trying to achieve European unification, where in your opinion should the most emphasis be placed at the present time - on steps toward military integration, toward economic integration or toward the actual merging of the various European governments?" (Asked only of those for unification efforts.)

Military integration	3%	4%
Economic integration	51	65
Merging of governments	18	23
Don't know	6	8
	78% =	100%

MAJORITY SEES MORE ADVANTAGES THAN DISADVANTAGES FOR THE SAAR IN INTEGRATION....

The popularity of the idea of European integration is further seen in the replies to the question of whether such integration would have more advantages or more disadvantages for the Saar itself. A majority of the Saarlanders (58%) - fully three-quarters of those in favor of efforts for unification of Western Europe - foresee more advantages for the Saar itself. Only a scant 2% see more disadvantages.

"Do you see, in the net, more advantages or disadvantages in European integration, so far as the Saar itself is concerned?" (Asked only of those for unification efforts.)

Advantages	58%	75%
Disadvantages	2	2
Don't know	17	22
Neither/nor	1	1
	78% =	100%

MOST ADVANTAGES SEEN IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE....

The advantages which people have in mind that would accrue to the Saar as a result of an integration of Western Europe cluster about the economic sphere (60%), while relatively few people considered political advantages (12%).

"What advantages do you see for the Saar in European integration?"

SUMMARY TABLE

Economic advantages		60%
Improved trade relations	23	
Economic advantages (general)	12	
Duty-free exchange of goods	11	
Improve social conditions & raise standard of living	10	
Other economic advantages	4	
Political advantages		12
Peace and security furthered	5	
Abolition of frontiers	4	
End of quarrel between France and Germany	1	
Other political advantages	2	
Other advantages		7
All Europe would benefit	3	
Travel restrictions would be ended	3	
Cultural exchange	1	
No advantages		3
No opinion, no answer		36
		118%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"What advantages do you see for the Saar in European integration?"

ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES 60%

Improved trade relations - easier export-import terms 23%

"The Saar could establish trade relations with many countries."
"We would have a stable market for our products and we could also buy from other countries."
"I'm thinking of better chances for exporting our goods."
"Economic cooperation in a unified Europe would be more profitable for us than the Saar Statute."
"If the Saar would be integrated into the West European Community its economic situation would undoubtedly be more favorable than if its trade relations were limited to those with France."
"The Saar is so small. It would be better if it were integrated into a greater community because it's always more profitable to handle things on a large scale than on a small one."

Economic advantages (in general) 12

"Trade and commerce would be promoted."
"Business and industry would thrive."
"Trade and commerce would prosper."
"I think it would be better with regard to the economic situation on the whole."

Duty-free exchange of goods 11

"Goods could be imported duty-free."
"Duty-free exchange of goods with Germany and France."
"Duty-free trade."
"Removal of the customs barriers."

Improve social conditions and raise the standard of living 10

"Social conditions would improve."
:Better working conditions and higher wages."
"Everything is too expensive over here. Perhaps prices for many goods would drop then."
"Then we would be better off, as the tax-rate would be lower."

Other economic advantages 4

"We could buy the best and latest types of machinery once we could pay for them in foreign currency."
"Our currency would be more stable."

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POLITICAL ADVANTAGES	12%
Peace and security would be furthered	5%
"It would be a sounder basis for peace and security." "The danger of war will be averted." "There would be greater security in regard to the East."	
Abolition of the frontiers and promotion of international understanding	4
"The frontiers would be abolished." "The frontier between the Saar and Germany would no longer exist." "Then we would be in closer contact with other nations."	
The end of quarrel between Germany and France	1
"That would end the dispute between France and Germany." "Then the quarrel between France and Germany would be over." "Then the Saar would no longer be torn between the two powers."	
Other political advantages	2
"Advantages with regard to world politics." "There would be better political chances."	
OTHER ADVANTAGES	7%
All Europe would benefit	3%
"Advantages for the whole of Europe are also advantages for the Saar District." "European integration is better for all nations concerned." "If Europe is united it's better for all concerned and for us as well."	
Travel restrictions would be lifted	3
"People wouldn't have any troubles anymore when travelling across the border." "We could go everywhere without a passport." "There would no longer be so many restrictions. I mean that we could travel to Germany as often as we liked."	
Cultural exchange	1
"There would be cultural exchanges." "Advantages in the cultural field."	
NO ADVANTAGES	3%
NO OPINION, NO ANSWER	36%
	118%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONLY ONE OUT OF TEN SEES DISADVANTAGES FOR THE SAAR IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION....

Only one out of ten who were questioned (10%) gave disadvantages which they thought might accrue to the Saar if European integration were carried out. By and large, however, the great majority either could not think of any (48%) or categorically stated that there would not be any disadvantages if this should happen (42%). Most of the 10% who named disadvantages were also thinking of economic factors.

"What disadvantages for the Saar do you see?"

SUMMARY TABLE

Economic disadvantages		7%
Tougher competition	2%	
Deteriorated economic situation	2	
Lowered living standard	2	
Other disadvantages	1	
Political disadvantages		3
Military service	1	
Other disadvantages	2	
No disadvantages		42
No opinion, no answer		48
		100%

"What disadvantages for the Saar do you see?"

ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGES 7%

Tougher competition 2%

"The smaller factories turning out semi-finished products would get into trouble as competition would be tougher."
"During the initial phase things would be a little tough for the processing industry as it will meet sharp competition."
"The Saar industries couldn't compete with the industries of other European countries as they haven't been modernized."

Deteriorated economic situation 2

"We would fare worse economically."
"We would no longer be able to make money doing business with France."
"Fewer jobs would be available."

Lower living standard 2

"We wouldn't be as well off as we are today, for in the Reich they pay even lower pensions than they do here."
"Perhaps consumer goods would become more expensive."
"The standard of living may be lowered."

Other economic disadvantages 1

"Maybe housing conditions would become worse as we might have to absorb a lot of refugees."
"I do not see any advantages, but only disadvantages. Even more raw materials and goods would be taken out of our country then."

POLITICAL DISADVANTAGES 3

Introduction of military service 1

"We might be drafted into the army then."
"The men would have to serve in the army, just as in the past."

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Other answers 2%

"Maybe there would be political drawbacks."
"The Federal Republic and the Saar together are strongest when they are on their own."

NO DISADVANTAGES 42%

"I do not think European integration would result in any drawbacks for the Saar."
"I think such an arrangement would have only advantages."
"I cannot imagine that such a settlement would be in any way disadvantageous."
"I'm sure there would be no disadvantages."

NO OPINION, NO ANSWER 48

100%

ALMOST TWO OUT OF THREE HAVE HEARD OF COAL-STEEL COMMUNITY....

Almost two-thirds of the people in the Saar (64%) have heard of the European Coal-Steel Community (Schuman Plan). While not particularly high, this degree of awareness is the usual one found among populations for non-spectacular events.

"Have you ever heard of the European Coal-Steel Community - the Schuman Plan, that is?"

Yes	64%
No	36
	100%

THOSE AWARE OF COAL-STEEL COMMUNITY CONSIDER IT A GOOD THING....

Two-thirds of those aware of the existence of the Coal-Steel Community (66%, or 42% of the total population) feel that it is a good thing for the Saar. Only one out of ten (6% in the total population) have any kind of doubts on this score. The situation, therefore, is similar to that found with respect to other confederations of states: namely, when there is knowledge there is approval!

"On the whole do you think that membership in the Coal-Steel Community is a good thing for the Saar, or don't you?" (Asked only of those who have heard of the Schuman Plan.)

	Saar (821)	
Good thing for the Saar	42%	66%
Not good thing	4	7
Qualified answers	2	3
Don't know	16	24
	64% =	100%

WHILE FEW OPPOSE NEW FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL CONTROL, ONLY THREE OUT OF TEN ARE IN FAVOR.....

A majority (52%) simply do not know what to think on the question of new forms of international control. Among those with an opinion, more favor the idea of additional international amalgamations than oppose such extensions (30% are in favor as against 18% opposed)

"Do you think international control should be worked out for other fields besides coal and steel, or don't you?"

Yes, should be	30%
No, should not	18
Don't know	52
	100%

APPROVAL FOR NEW CONTROLS MAINLY COMES FROM THOSE SEEING GAINS FOR THE SAAR IN THE COAL-STEEL COMMUNITY....

The importance of knowledge of specific steps along the road to an integration of Europe) in furthering additional measures to bring about the goal of a unification of Western Europe is brought to the fore once more in the following table. From the figures one can easily see that approval of additional measures for international control similar to the Coal and Steel Community comes mainly from those individuals who, knowing about the Coal-Steel Community, see it as a good thing. Among those considering it a good thing for the Saar, 57% thought that there should be more such forms of control, while the percentages wanting additional controls dropped to 31% among those who did not think the Community was particularly working out for the benefit of the Saar, to 18% among those who had no idea as to whether it had been to the Saar's benefit or not, and to a mere 4% among those who had not even heard of the Coal-Steel Community.

	Heard of Coal-Steel Community and consider it			Had not heard of Coal-Steel Community
	Good thing	Not good, qualified	Don't know	
	(347)	(49)	(130)	(295)
Yes, should be	57%	31%	18%	4%
No, should not be	23	61	15	6
Don't know	20	8	67	90
	100%	100%	100%	100%

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MANY SUGGESTIONS FOR ADDITIONAL FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL UNIONS....

The following listing shows the many avenues considered as possibilities of the future development of various international bodies for mutual associationships. More than a dozen different areas were mentioned by that 30% of the population who thought that there should be international controls worked out in other fields than coal and steel.

"Do you think international control should be worked out for other fields besides coal and steel, or don't you?"

IF "Yes, should be":
What fields?

Trade and commerce	7%
Atomic research and production of atomic energy	6
Agriculture	5
Postal services, transport and traffic systems	3
Food processing industries	2
Power production (gas, electricity)	2
The military field	2
Atomic weapons and atomic armament	1
Social services (working conditions pensions and insurances)	1
Cultural fields	1
Textile industry	1
Wood processing industries	1
All branches of industry	1
Other industrial branches	4
All fields	1
Other answers	3
No opinion, no answer	3
	44%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITY SEE GREAT NECESSITY FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY....

A majority of the Saarlanders (55%) considered it "very necessary" or "absolutely necessary" for France and Germany to try to have friendly relations with each other. Only about one out of twenty (6%) thought that there was no or very little necessity. These figures are hopeful signs as far as Franco-German relations are concerned, inasmuch as they are more favorable than were found in West Germany in November 1954.* At that time only four out of ten West Germans (43%) recognized this as an urgent necessity while about one out of ten (9%) did not see the necessity.

"How necessary do you consider it for France and Germany to try to achieve friendly relations with each other - absolutely necessary, very necessary, necessary, not very necessary, or not necessary at all?"

	Saar		West Germany Nov 54 (1529)	
Absolutely necessary	38%	55	22%	43
Very necessary	17		21	
Necessary	29		30	
Not very necessary	4	6	5	9
Not necessary at all	2		4	
Don't know	10		18	
	100%		100%	

* This is particularly true in view of the low esteem in which the Saarlanders hold the French (See Section IV of this report.)

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LESS THAN THREE OUT OF TEN NAME POSSIBLE CONCESSIONS GERMANY SHOULD MAKE CONCERNING THE SAAR. MAJORITY OF CONCESSIONS MENTIONED IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR....

In response to the question as to what concessions Germany should make concerning the Saar in order to achieve the understanding and friendly relations which a majority considered to be at least very necessary, fewer than three out of ten (28%) could name one. Most of those which were named were in the economic sector.

The largest percentage in the population simply replied that they could not think of any (43%) while the next largest group frankly replied that there should not be any concessions (29%).

"In your opinion what concessions concerning the Saar should Germany make in order to achieve an understanding and friendly cooperation with France?"

SUMMARY TABLE

Economic concessions		17%
Grant certain economic advantages to France	10%	
Continue France's special relationships	6	
Pay reparations	1	
Political concessions		4
Abolish frontiers	3	
Renounce claims on the Saar	1	
Other concessions		9
Settle differences amicably	7	
Miscellaneous	2	
No concessions		29
No answer, no opinion		43
		102%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"In your opinion, what concessions concerning the Saar should Germany make in order to achieve an understanding and friendly cooperation with France?"

ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS 17%

Grant certain economic advantages to France 10%

"Sell coal to the French. France's mines are in a bad state. The French need coal from Germany."
"Realize the plan for canalization of the Mosel river."
"Germany should repay the investments France made in the Saar."
"Remove the customs barriers."

Continue France's special economic relationships in the Saar 6

"Trade relations between France and the Saar should be allowed to continue."
"In case the French want special privileges in the economic sector, they should be granted them."
"Germany should allow the economic relations between France and the Saar to continue. We would supply France with coal and steel, and they would give us food in return."
"Germany should allow the trade relations between the Saar and France to continue."

Pay reparations or compensation for war damages to France 1

"The Germans should pay the French for the war damages they caused."
"Germany should give France a certain amount of coal as reparation in kind for a limited period of time."
"Germany should undertake to pay reparations to France."

POLITICAL CONCESSIONS 4

Abolish political frontiers 3

"They should help to remove the borders."
"The frontiers should be opened."
"It would be the right thing to do to open the frontiers on both sides."
"Open the borders."

Renounce claims on the Saar 1

"The Germans - and the French as well - should have relinquished all their rights to the Saar and should have made it a free and independent European state."
"The Saar district should be left alone."
"It would be best if the Saar were left as it is, that's best for all concerned."

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OTHER CONCESSIONS 9%

Settle differences amicably with France 7%

"Germany should show a certain tolerance when talking the situation over with France."
"Germany should make concessions if necessary so that the present state of affairs won't last for ever."
"Not so many concessions, but they should settle things peacefully."
"Germany should live in peace with France."

Miscellaneous answers 2

"In the social sector, for example, together with the French government they should look after the war victims."
"An exchange of youth groups."
"Concessions in the cultural, but not in the economic sector."

NO CONCESSIONS 29

"No concessions. The Saar forms part of Germany. There's no need to recompense the French, even their claim on Alsace-Lorreine is unjust."
"The Germans shouldn't give anything to the French. They've more than their share already. Just think of all the coal they took away from us."
"No concessions, the Germans shouldn't give in one bit."
"None, the agreement between Adenauer and Mendes-France was too much. The Saar Statute was quite an unnecessary concession."
"The Saar shouldn't be made an object for barter. For this reason I would be strongly against any other agreement such as the Saar Statute."
"Under no circumstances must there be more concessions."

NO OPINION, NO ANSWER 43

102%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MORE THAN SIX OUT OF TEN CAN NAME CONCESSIONS FRANCE SHOULD MAKE CONCERNING THE SAAR. MAJORITY OF CONCESSIONS MENTIONED IN THE POLITICAL SECTOR....

The difficulties which many people had in thinking of concessions that Germany might make concerning the Saar in order to achieve friendly relations with France did not seem to apply when asked what concessions the French should make. Well over six-tenths (63%) were able to come up with one or more suggestions for things the French should do. In contrast with their ideas for Germany (where most suggestions concerned economic concessions), their ideas for the French were concentrated in the political arena.

"In your opinion what concessions concerning the Saar should France make in order to achieve an understanding and friendly cooperation with Germany?"

SUMMARY TABLE

Economic concessions		24%
Abolish customs barriers	12%	
Forego economic privileges	9	
Consent to economic integration with Germany	2	
Cancel reparations	1	
Political Concessions		40
Renounce all claims to the Saar	19	
Reintegrate Saar into Federal Republic	15	
Abolish frontiers, passports	6	
Other concessions		8
Settle differences amicably	5	
Miscellaneous	3	
No concessions		1
No opinion, no answer		36
		109%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"In your opinion, what concessions concerning the Saar should France make in order to achieve an understanding and friendly cooperation with Germany?"

ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS 24%

Abolish the customs barriers 12%

"They should allow traffic to pass unhampered in both directions by tearing down the customs barriers."
"France should agree to an unhampered trade between the Saar District and Germany."
"They should remove the customs barriers. At least, they should allow the Saar to import various articles from Germany, such as drugs, toiletries, and also machinery."
"Customs duties should no longer be levied."

Forego economic privileges 9

"France should relinquish the management of some business enterprises, such as mines and railroads."
"It should return plants such as the Roechling works, which it confiscated some years ago."
"France should return the mines and other property of Saar residents to the rightful owners. Also Saarlanders should be allowed to occupy leading positions in business and industry."
"The French should return the mines in the Warndt District. The present arrangement is unjust."
"They should relinquish the coal mines and the smelting works of the Saar District."

Consent to the economic integration of the Saar into Germany 2

"They should consent to the merging of the Saar and the German economies."
"They should agree to an economic union between the Saar and Germany."

Cancel reparations 1

"France has no right to demand reparations from the Saar."
"They should forego all reparation claims."

(Cont'd on next page)

POLITICAL CONCESSIONS 40%

Renounce all claims to the Saar 19%

"They should no longer lay claim to the Saar District. They should relinquish it for good."
"France should move out of the Saar."
"They should relinquish the Saar. We do not want to remain under French control any longer, for all the French do is to exploit us. We want our country to become independent."
"The Fench should renounce all their claims to the Saar, and the same goes for the Germans. The Saar should be made a free European country."
"France should give political freedom to the Saar."

Reintegrate the Saar politically into the Federal Republic 15

"They should turn over the Saar to Germany with no strings attached."
"They should go all the way in restoring sovereignty over the Saar to the Federal Republic."
"They should restore the status that existed before 1945."
"It's high time for the French to yield and to return the Saar to Germany."
"The French should become reconciled with the idea of the Saar being a part of Germany."

Abolish political frontiers, discard the passport system 6

"They should permit us to travel any place we want to go without needing a passport."
"The system requiring people to carry passports should be done away with at last."
"They should recognize us as Germans, then we would hold German passports again and could travel freely in Germany, just as we could do in the past."

OTHER CONCESSIONS 8

Settle differences amicably with Germany 5

"The French shouldn't hate the Germans any more. They should get along with them thus averting future wars."
"Both sides should yield a little, then things would work out somehow, I'm sure."
"They should come to an understanding with Germany. The two parties should engage in trade and should not fight each other politically."

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Miscellaneous answers	3%

"They should release any prisoners of war and war criminals who still may be in French prisons."
"They should show a friendly attitude toward the people of the Saar."
"They should recognize that Germany also has claims on the Saar."

NO CONCESSIONS	1%
NO OPINION, NO ANSWER	36
	109%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THREE OUT OF TEN SEE SOME JUSTIFICATION IN FRENCH CLAIMS (CONSIDERABLY HIGHER THAN IN WEST GERMANY)....

Three out of ten in the Saar (30%) feel that French claims of special economic relationships in the Saar are in any way justified. This percentage should be compared with the 17% in West Germany, in November 1954, who made similar replies to a slightly different version of this same question.*

"In your opinion, how justified are French claims to special economic relationships in the Saar - fully justified, mostly justified, somewhat justified, not justified?"

	Saar	West Germany Nov 54 (1529)*
Fully justified	1%	1%
Mostly justified	4	2
Somewhat justified	25	14
Not justified	40	53
Don't know	30	30
	100%	100%

* In November 1954 the question read as follows: "Apart from legal claims do you feel that France's demands regarding the Saar are in any way justified?"

WHERE NO JUSTIFICATION FOR FRENCH CLAIMS SEEN, MAJORITY OPPOSES SPECIAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS AS THE PRICE FOR REUNIFICATION WITH GERMANY....

On the assumption that those persons who can see some justification in the French claims for special economic relationships in the Saar, are already predisposed to go along with such demands if it were the price to be paid for reunification with Western Germany, only those people who felt such claims were not justified or who did not know what to answer were asked if they would grant or oppose such demands if they were the price for reunification. The majority of those asked this further question (51%) would still oppose such special relationships even if it meant the return of the Saar to Germany, while only a very small percentage would go along (16% of those asked).

"Suppose the French insisted on some special economic relationships as the price for agreeing to a return of the Saar to Germany. In this case, would you favor or oppose the granting of such special relationsips to France?" (Asked only of those who thought French claims to special economic relationships in the Saar were "not justified" or who "don't know").

	Saar (821)	
Favor granting benefits in this case	11%	16%
Oppose benefits	36	51
Don't know	23	33
	70% =	100%

ALMOST HALF FEEL THERE ARE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WHICH SHOULD NOT BE CONTINUED UNDER ANY SOLUTION OF THE SAAR PROBLEM. FRENCH RIGHTS IN COAL MINING, BY FAR, THE LEADING OBJECTION....

Among the group (46%) naming one or more economic areas in which the French should not be allowed further relationships, "French privileges in coal mining" were singled out by most people replying to the question (34%). Control over the smelting works and control of the Roechling works were a distant second and third with 6% and 4% respectively.

"Are there any economic relationships the French now have in the Saar that you feel should not be continued in any solution of the Saar problem?"

Yes, there are	46%
No, are not/don't know	54
	100%

"Are there any economic relationships the French now have in the Saar that you feel should not be continued in any solution of the Saar problem?"

IF "Yes":
Which?

French privileges in coal mining 34%

"The coal covenant concluded in 1948 should be annulled."
"The agreement of the year 1952 regulating French titles to the coal mines, for instance, should be junked."
"A pretty shady deal was concluded allowing the French to exploit the coal mines in the W rndt District for 50 years. That wasn't right."
"That business with the coal pits. The French get a share of every ton of coal produced. This practice should be discontinued."
"The French should no longer be allowed to exploit the coal fields in the Saar."
"The French should no longer obtain coal at nominal prices."

French control of the smelting works 6

"They should return the foundry plants to their Saar owners."
"Those agreements dealing with the smelting works should be scrapped."
"Those agreements concerning the foundries should be cancelled."

French control of the Roechling works 4

"The Roechling concern should be returned to the family whose property it was."
"I'm thinking of the sequester of the Roechling works."
"The Roechling works which the French requisitioned and control now should be returned."

The customs union between France and the Saar 2

"The integration of the Saar into the French customs district displeases me."
"The customs union between France and the Saar District should be dissolved, for I feel French goods are of poor quality."

The customs barrier erected between the Saar and Germany 2

"The customs regulations applying to imports from Germany should be changed."
"The customs barriers between the Saar and Germany should be removed."

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The contract under which the Saar must buy goods from France	2%
"The fact that we are forced to buy goods made in France displeases me."	
"It isn't right that we have practically no choice but to buy French merchandise."	
"Those economic conventions requiring us to buy French goods should be annulled."	
The restrictions imposed on imports from Germany	1
"Those license regulations applying to imports from Germany should be changed."	
"We should be able to import food stuffs from Germany."	
The placing of Frenchmen in key positions in business and industry	1
"The Frenchmen whom you find in positions in business and industry everywhere should be removed."	
"The French should be removed from key positions in industry - then they would no longer be able to meddle in everything."	
Economic privileges for France	5
"The French should under no circumstances be allowed to retain economic or financial advantages."	
"All commercial treaties should be nullified. France should no longer be allowed to maintain a dominant position in the Saar."	
"That trade agreement of 1954 should be scrapped."	
"The French should withdraw from the Saar industries."	
Other answers	6
"The present currency of francs should be abolished."	
"The railroad covenant should be done away with."	
"The Saar should no longer be dependent on the French chemical industry."	
"The practice of paying high bonuses to Frenchwomen having babies while residing in the Saar District should be discontinued."	
No opinion, no answer	1
	64%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Section III. - The Future of the Saar

MAJORITY CONSIDER PERSONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION BETTER THAN FIVE YEARS AGO....

Whatever else motivated the Saarlanders when they went to the polls in October and in December 1955, economic pressures cannot be said to one of them. A clear majority (52%) felt that their own economic situation was better than it had been five years before, and another sizeable group (36%) stated that they were as well off today as they had been previously. Only about one person out of ten (11%) felt that they were in any way worse off than they had been before.

"How would you compare your economic situation today as against, say, five years ago - is it much better, somewhat better, somewhat worse, or much worse?"

	Saar (821)
Much better	17%
Somewhat better	35
Somewhat worse	7
Much worse	4
About the same (Volunteered)	36
Don't know	1
	100%

WHILE SAARLANDERS OVERWHELMINGLY FAVOR RETURN TO GERMANY, ONE QUARTER WOULD ALLOW FRANCE TO RETAIN SPECIAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS....

There can be no doubt but that as far as the Saarlanders themselves are concerned return to Germany is the only acceptable solution of the Saar problem, as more than seven out of ten (71%) chose that option from among the list presented to them. However, it should be noted that fully one quarter (25%) indicated that although they wanted the Saar returned to Germany they would allow the French to retain special economic relationships. Almost half (46%) apparently would oppose such grants to the French inasmuch as they wanted complete political and economic integration of the Saar with the Federal Republic.

Despite their high support for the idea of unification of Western Europe (as previously noted 78% were in favor of efforts for such integration) only one out of twenty (5%) selected the category proposing the Saar as an independent state in a federation of European nations. Apparently following the maxim of "first things first", the Saarlanders wanted to get their territory back under German administration before considering any further goals such as European integration.

"Which of the following proposals do you think would be the best eventual solution of the Saar problem?"(CARD)

A - Continuance of the present status of the Saar	1%
B - A free and independent status for the Saar	8
C - Membership of the Saar as a separate state in a federation of European nations	5
D - Incorporation of the Saar into the Federal Republic of Germany, allowing France to retain special economic relationships	25
E - Complete political and economic integration of the Saar with the Federal Republic	46
- Don't know	15
	100%

The results did not vary from those just cited when the Saar residents were asked which of these same alternatives would be the most advantageous for the Saar economically. While it is debatable whether their economic interests could, in reality, coincide so exactly with their desires concerning the solution of the Saar problem, there at least can be no doubt their minds and emotions are set on the one course of action - namely, return of the Saar to the Federal Republic of Germany.

"Which of those proposals do you think would be most advantageous for the Saar economically?" (CARD)

	Saar (821)
A - Continuance of the present status of the Saar	1%
B - A free and independent status for the Saar	7
C - Membership of the Saar as a separate state in a federation of European nations	7
D - Incorporation of the Saar into the Federal Republic of Germany, allowing France to retain special economic relationships	25
E - Complete political and economic integration of the Saar with the Federal Republic	42
- Don't know	18
	100%

ALMOST HALF WANT SAAR PARTIES AMALGAMATED WITH WEST GERMAN PARTIES....

As a further extension of their desire to re-identify themselves as Germans one should note their wish to have the present Saar political parties amalgamated with those of West Germany (48%), as against one-quarter (23%) who would like to see the present Saar parties continued. As might be expected most of those giving the latter reply are to be found among adherents of the CVP (see tabulations in the Appendix).

"If the Saar becomes a part of the Federal Republic, do you think that the Saar parties should be continued as at present, or should they be amalgamated with the present West German parties?"

Continue present Saar parties	23%
Amalgamate with West German parties	48
Don't know	29
	100%

MAJORITY WANT SAAR TO BE A SEPARATE STATE WITHIN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC....

During pre war years the Saar was incorporated within various administrative units. While originally a separate administrative division, it was later joined with the Palatinate and finally incorporated with Lorraine and the Bavarian Palatinate to form the Gau Westmark. As for their future only one quarter (24%) now want to be a part of Rheinland-Pfalz. The wish of the majority (56%) to have the Saar recognized as a separate state within the Federal Republic is not in contradiction to the psychological desire to identify themselves to the world as Germans "again". Once this has been done (by reincorporation into the Federal Republic) they become willing to consider new arrangements for their future and since a feeling of solidarity has probably been engendered as a result of their status since the war it is not surprising that a majority would opt for a separate state within the Federal Republic.

"What would be the status of the Saar District if it becomes part of the Federal Republic should it be a separate state like the other states in West Germany or should it form part of Land Rheinland-Pfalz?"

Separate state	56%
Part of Rheinland-Pfalz	24
Other (what?)	1
Don't know	19
	100%

Section IV. - Attitudes Towards Various Countries

HIGHEST OPINIONS ACCORDED WEST GERMANY, WITH U.S. SECOND....

LOWEST OPINION GIVEN RUSSIA - FRANCE ALSO LOW....

When the Saarlanders were asked to give their opinions of the United States, West Germany, France, Russia, and Great Britain, it was not surprising to find that West Germany was in first place. On the contrary, some surprise is occasioned by the finding that as much as 28% did not have at least a "good" opinion of West Germany.

The rank order of the various countries based on the percentage selecting the two top categories of "good" and "very good" opinion shows a familiar pattern:

1 - West Germany	(72%)
2 - United States	(30%)
3 - Great Britain	(22%)
4 - France	(15%)
5 - Russia	(3%)

OPINIONS OF FRANCE AND RUSSIA SIMILAR TO THAT OF WEST GERMANS....

OPINIONS OF U.S. AND GREAT BRITAIN SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER THAN IN WEST GERMANY....

While the order is similar to that previously found in West Germany concerning these same countries, differences should be noted between the replies of the Saarlanders and the West Germans.

Of considerable interest is the finding that although the Saar residents and the West Germans share about the same opinion of France and Russia, their attitudes towards the United States and Great Britain are considerably worse than always found in West Germany. Such results pose a challenge to the U.S. information program.

"Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. How about ...? (CARD - Very good opinion, good opinion, fair opinion, bad opinion, very bad opinion?)

	Saar	West Germany		
	Feb 56	June 55 (857)	Aug 55 (865)	Dec 55 (813)
United States:				
Very good	3%	15%	12%	15%
Good	27	48	47	42
Fair	32	18	21	27
Bad	8	5	3	3
Very bad	2	1	1	*
Don't know	28	13	16	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%
West Germany:				
Very good	17%			
Good	55			
Fair	12			
Bad	1			
Very bad	*			
Don't know	15			
	100%			
France:				
Very good	1%	4%	2%	1%
Good	14	16	15	10
Fair	35	37	42	40
Bad	24	23	17	21
Very bad	7	6	3	6
Don't know	19	14	21	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Russia:				
Very good	*%	1%	1%	*%
Good	3	6	7	2
Fair	10	24	18	16
Bad	29	31	29	33
Very bad	33	24	25	32
Don't know	25	14	20	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Great Britain:				
Very good	1%	9%	3%	3%
Good	21	38	39	32
Fair	34	31	32	39
Bad	7	6	5	5
Very bad	3	1	1	1
Don't know	34	15	20	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one percent.

A P P E N D I X A

Present Political Part Preference in the Saar

Appendix A. - Present Political Party Preference in the Saar

SURVEY REVEALS GAIN FOR CDU, LOSS FOR CVP SINCE LANDTAG ELECTIONS....

The following figures are presented because of the interest they undoubtedly hold for many readers of this report. They present a comparison of the actual Landtag election results of December 1955, with the results of one of the background characteristic questions of the survey, which read "Would you please tell me which political party you like best?" While the answers to such a question cannot be taken as exact indicators of vote intention (were a new vote to be held at that moment), they do correlate highly with such a question.

What is of significance here, however, are the apparent shifts in party preference over past voting behavior. In the few months since the December Landtag elections there seems to be a significant drop in support for the CVP, and an almost equal gain by the CDU. The wisdom of the move by the SPS to disband and amalgamate with the SPD is further borne out by the survey results.

The first column under the survey results shows the percentages given each party when all responses were tabulated, while the second column reflects party standings when those who did not give a party preference were omitted from the calculations and the 70% having a party preference was used as the base.

	Actual vote Dec 55	Survey Party Preference Feb 56	
CDU/CSU	26.0%	29%	41%
DPS	24.2	17	24
SPD	14.3	13	19
CVP	21.8	7	10
SPS	5.8	1	-
KP	6.6	2	3
Others	1.3	1	3
	100.0%		100%
None		6	
Don't know		21	
Refused		3	
		100%	

A P P E N D I X B

Group Breaks

"All in all, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the results of the referendum in October on the Saar Statute? (Very or only somewhat?)"

	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't know		No. of cases
Total Saar	40%	34%	10%	16%	100%	821
Sex:						
Men	42	37	12	9		413
Women	38	31	9	22		408
Education:						
Elementary school	40	34	10	16		732
Beyond elementary	38	39	16	7		89
Income:						
Up to 149 DM **	33	33	6	28		18
150 to 299 DM	44	23	8	25		61
300 to 399 DM	42	32	10	16		154
400 to 499 DM	38	37	9	16		173
500 DM and more	39	37	14	10		359
No answer:	43	23	5	29		56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@						
Very active	27	46	19	8		59
Active	41	37	11	11		271
Remainder	42	31	9	18		491
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper classes	56	28	16	-		25
Upper middle classes	37	41	8	14		175
Lower middle classes	41	33	10	16		538
Lower classes	32	29	16	23		83
Age:						
18 to 24 years	38	40	10	12		92
25 to 34 years	46	32	9	13		193
35 to 44 years	32	39	11	18		163
45 to 54 years	43	25	14	18		167
55 years and over	39	37	9	15		206
Party Preference:						
CDU	53	37	3	7		236
CVP	12	24	49	15		59
DPS	47	39	13	1		139
SPD	40	45	13	2		108
SPS	34	22	22	22		9
KPS	54	31	15	-		13
Other parties	38	50	12	-		8
No party	29	31	8	32		48
No opinion/No answer	30	25	5	40		201
Occupation:						
Professionals	44	50	6	-		16
Businessmen	30	40	18	12		57
White-collar workers	41	36	14	9		85
Skilled laborers	41	35	14	10		135
Semi-skilled laborers	38	44	7	11		75
Domestic service	50	28	11	11		18
Farmers; farmhands	57	43	-	-		14
Housewives	38	29	9	24		311
Unemployed	20	40	10	30		10
Pensioners; retired	47	36	10	7		89
Students; apprentices	46	9	-	45		11

(Cont'd on next page)

** Saar Francs were converted into DMs according to the present rate of exchange.

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Dis-satisfied	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	41%	32%	10%	17%	100% 610
Protestants	37	39	14	10	197
Others	20	40	-	40	5
No religion	56	44	-	-	9
Origin:					
Permanent residents of Saar	40	34	10	16	755
From West Germany	61	26	13	-	23
From East Germany	26	47	16	11	19
Other countries	62	23	-	15	13
No answer	18	18	18	46	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	41	32	9	18	324
5,000 to 49,999	41	36	10	13	419
50,000 to 199,999	27	34	22	17	78

"Does the October referendum, in your opinion, have an affect on the prospects for unification of Western Europe, or doesn't it?"

	Yes, does affect prospects	No, does not	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	26%	31%	43%..100%	821
Sex:				
Men	32	42	26	413
Women	21	20	59	408
Education:				
Elementary school	24	30	46	732
Beyond elementary	44	41	15	89
Income:				
Up to 149 DM**	33	6	61	18
150 to 299 DM	30	15	55	61
300 to 399 DM	27	25	48	154
400 to 499 DM	19	39	42	173
500 DM and over	31	35	34	359
No answer	18	18	64	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:©				
Very active	41	44	15	59
Active	31	38	31	271
Remainder	43	5	52	491
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	60	28	12	25
Upper middle classes	31	39	30	175
Lower middle classes	24	29	47	538
Lower classes	21	29	50	83
Age:				
18 to 24 years	27	37	36	92
25 to 34 years	29	33	38	193
35 to 44 years	30	32	38	163
45 to 54 years	25	29	46	167
55 years and over	22	27	51	206
Party Preference:				
CDU	31	31	38	236
CVP	32	34	34	59
DPS	35	37	28	139
SPD	31	40	29	108
SPS	23	33	44	9
KPS	46	39	15	13
Other parties	38	25	37	8
No party	18	40	42	48
No opinion/No answer	11	18	71	201
Occupation:				
Professionals	56	38	6	16
Businessmen	27	38	35	57
White-collar workers	33	41	26	85
Skilled laborers	30	43	27	135
Semi-skilled laborers	31	42	27	75
Domestic service	34	33	33	18
Farmers; farmhands	50	29	21	14
Housewives	18	19	63	311
Unemployed	40	20	40	10
Pensioners; retired	28	32	40	89
Students; apprentices	36	27	37	11

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	Yes, does affect prospects	No, does not	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:				
Catholics	25%	29%	46%..100%	610
Protestants	28	36	36	197
Others	40	20	40	5
No religion:	56	33	11	9
Origin:				
Permanent resident of Saar	26	31	43	755
From West Germany	48	30	22	23
From East Germany	26	48	26	19
Other countries	8	62	30	13
No answer	27	9	64	11
City Size:				
Up to 4,999	22	29	49	324
5,000to 49,999	31	32	37	419
50,000to 199,999	24	36	40	78

"Does the October referendum, in your opinion, have an affect on the prospects for unification of Western Europe, or doesn't it?"

IF "Yes":
"Do you think it makes unification of Western Europe more likely or less likely? Very much or only somewhat?"

	Very much more likely/ Somewhat more likely	Somewhat less likely/ Very much less likely	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
Total Saar	19%	5%	2%	74%..100%	821
Sex:					
Men	24	6	2	68	413
Women	15	3	3	79	408
Education:					
Elementary school	18	4	2	76	732
Beyond elementary	30	8	6	56	89
Income:					
Up to 149 DM**	28	5	-	67	18
150 to 299 DM	18	5	7	70	61
300 to 399 DM	23	3	1	73	154
400 to 499 DM	13	3	3	81	173
500 DM and more	23	6	2	69	359
No answer	13	5	-	82	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:C					
Very active	32	7	2	59	59
Active	24	7	1	69	271
Remainder	18	2	23	57	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	40	8	12	40	25
Upper middle classes	24	5	2	69	175
Lower middle classes	18	4	2	76	538
Lower classes	17	2	2	79	83
Age:					
18 to 24 years	18	7	2	73	92
25 to 34 years	21	5	3	71	193
35 to 44 years	24	4	2	70	163
45 to 54 years	19	4	2	75	167
55 years and over	17	4	1	78	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	26	2	3	69	236
CVP	13	17	2	68	59
DPS	29	3	3	65	139
SPD	23	5	3	69	108
SPS	-	23	-	77	9
KPS	46	-	-	54	13
Other parties	38	-	-	62	8
No party	8	10	-	82	48
No opinion/No answer	7	2	2	89	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	38	6	12	44	16
Businessmen	15	10	2	73	57
White-collar workers	23	8	2	67	85
Skilled laborers	22	6	2	70	135
Semi-skilled laborers	29	1	1	69	75
Domestic service	28	6	-	66	18
Farmers; farmhands	50	-	-	50	14
Housewives	13	3	2	82	311
Unemployed	40	-	-	60	10
Pensioners; retired	22	4	2	72	89
Students; apprentices	36	1	-	63	11

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Very much more likely/ Somewhat more likely	Somewhat less likely/ Very much less likely	Don't know	Not asked	No ca
Religion:					
Catholics	19%	4%	2%	75%..100%	
Protestants	21	4	3	72	
Others	20	-	20	60	
No religion	56	-	-	44	
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	20	4	2	74	
From West Germany	44	4	-	52	
From East Germany	21	5	-	74	
Other countries	8	-	-	92	
No answer	27	-	-	73	
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	18	2	2	78	
5,000 to 49,999	22	6	3	69	
50,000 to 199,999	18	5	1	76	

"Are you in general for or against making efforts toward the unification of Western Europe?"

	For unification efforts	Against unification efforts	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	78%	3%	19%..100%	821
Sex:				
Men	86	4	10	413
Women	69	2	29	408
Education:				
Elementary school	76	3	21	732
Beyond elementary	91	1	8	89
Income:				
Up to 149 DM**	72	-	28	18
150 to 299 DM	54	8	38	61
300 to 399 DM	79	2	19	154
400 to 499 DM	77	5	18	173
500 DM and more	84	3	13	359
No answer	61	2	37	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:C				
Very active	95	-	5	59
Active	83	4	13	271
Remainder	73	3	24	491
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	92	-	8	25
Upper middle classes	84	2	14	175
Lower middle classes	76	4	20	538
Lower classes	66	4	30	83
Age:				
18 to 24 years	77	2	21	92
25 to 34 years	79	3	18	193
35 to 44 years	81	4	15	163
45 to 54 years	73	4	23	167
55 years and over	77	3	20	206
Party Preference:				
CDU	86	2	12	236
CVP	88	5	7	59
DPS	86	6	8	139
SPD	87	4	9	108
SPS	78	-	22	9
KPS	77	15	8	13
Other parties	100	-	-	8
No party	69	4	27	48
No opinion/No answer	54	1	45	201
Occupation:				
Professionals	100	-	-	16
Businessmen	79	2	19	57
White-collar workers	90	4	6	85
Skilled laborers	86	4	10	135
Semi-skilled laborers	91	1	8	75
Domestic service	67	11	22	18
Farmers; farmhands	93	-	7	14
Housewives	66	3	31	311
Unemployed	80	-	20	10
Pensioners; retired	74	6	20	89
Students; apprentices	64	-	36	11

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	For unification efforts	Against unification efforts	Don't know	No ca
Religion:				
Catholics	77%	3%	20%..100%	
Protestants	82	3	15	
Others	40	20	40	
No religion	89	11	-	
Origin:				
Permanent resident of Saar	77	3	20	
From West Germany	96	-	4	
From East Germany	89	-	11	
Other countries	62	15	23	
No answer	45	9	46	
City Size:				
Up to 4,999	78	2	20	
5,000 to 49,999	76	5	19	
50,000 to 199,999	77	3	20	

"Are you in general for or against making efforts toward the unification of Western Europe?"

IF "For":
"How much interest would you say you have in the idea of unifying Western Europe - very great interest, great interest, some interest, or very little interest?"

	Very great interest	Great interest	Some interest	Very little interest	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
Total Saar	23%	41%	11%	1%	2%	22%.100%	821
Sex:							
Men	28	43	12	2	1	14	413
Women	17	38	10	1	2	32	408
Education:							
Elementary school	22	40	11	1	2	24	732
Beyond elementary	33	46	9	1	2	9	89
Income:							
Up to 149 DM**	16	50	6	-	-	28	18
150 to 299 DM	13	25	10	-	5	47	61
300 to 399 DM	22	41	11	1	4	21	154
400 to 499 DM	22	39	14	1	2	22	173
500 DM and more	26	46	9	2	1	16	359
No answer	20	29	7	5	-	39	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:©							
Very active	24	54	12	2	3	5	59
Active	26	45	9	1	1	18	271
Remainder	21	37	11	2	2	27	491
Socio-Economic Status:							
Upper classes	36	52	4	-	-	8	25
Upper middle classes	30	41	11	1	1	16	175
Lower middle classes	20	42	11	2	1	24	538
Lower classes	19	28	12	-	7	34	83
Age:							
18 to 24 years	17	45	14	1	-	23	92
25 to 34 years	21	43	11	2	2	21	193
35 to 44 years	24	42	11	2	2	19	163
45 to 54 years	24	37	9	1	3	26	167
55 years and over	25	40	9	1	2	23	206
Party Preference:							
CDU	26	44	13	2	1	14	236
CVP	31	42	12	-	3	12	59
DPS	21	49	13	2	1	14	139
SPD	28	50	8	1	-	13	108
SPS	33	45	-	-	-	22	9
KPS	23	46	8	-	-	23	13
Other parties	25	50	25	-	-	-	8
No party	25	29	8	2	4	32	48
No opinion/No answer	15	28	9	*	3	45	201

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Very great interest	Great interest	Some interest	Very little interest	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
Occupation:							
Professionals	31%	69%	-%	-%	-%	-%..100%	16
Businessmen	26	46	5	-	2	21	57
White-collar workers	40	33	13	2	2	10	85
Skilled laborers	27	45	13	-	1	14	135
Semi-skilled laborers	27	43	19	1	1	9	75
Domestic service	11	44	6	6	-	33	18
Farmers; farmhands	21	36	22	14	-	7	14
Housewives	18	35	10	1	3	33	311
Unemployed	10	60	10	-	-	20	10
Pensioners; retired	17	48	6	-	3	26	89
Students; apprentices	9	46	-	9	-	36	11
Religion:							
Catholics	23	41	10	1	2	23	610
Protestants	24	40	14	2	3	17	197
Others	20	20	-	-	-	60	5
No religion	22	56	11	-	-	11	9
Origin:							
Permanent resident of Saar	24	39	11	1	2	23	755
From West Germany	18	66	4	4	4	4	23
From East Germany	11	63	11	-	5	10	19
Other countries	8	46	8	-	-	38	13
No answer	18	9	9	9	-	55	11
City Size:							
Up to 4,999	26	34	14	3	1	22	324
5,000 to 49,999	21	48	7	-	1	23	419
50,000 to 199,999	22	33	13	1	8	23	78

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"Are you in general for or against making efforts toward the unification of Western Europe?"

IF "For":
"Do you see, in the net, more advantages or disadvantages in European integration, so far as the Saar itself is concerned?"

	Advantages	Disadvantages	Neither/nor	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
Total Saar	58%	2%	1%	17%	22%	100% 821
Sex:						
Men	70	2	1	13	14	413
Women	46	1	1	20	32	408
Education:						
Elementary school	56	1	1	18	24	732
Beyond elementary	74	6	1	10	9	89
Income:						
Up to 149 DM**	61	-	-	11	28	18
150 to 299 DM	39	-	-	15	46	61
300 to 399 DM	56	1	1	20	22	154
400 to 499 DM	54	1	1	21	23	173
500 DM and more	67	3	1	13	16	359
No answer	41	-	-	20	39	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@						
Very active	73	7	-	15	5	59
Active	69	1	1	12	17	271
Remainder	51	1	1	20	27	491
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper classes	68	4	4	16	8	25
Upper middle classes	66	4	-	14	16	175
Lower middlec lasses	57	1	1	17	24	538
Lower classes	42	-	1	23	34	83
Age:						
18 to 24 years	53	7	3	14	23	92
25 to 34 years	65	*	1	13	21	193
35 to 44 years	61	2	1	17	19	163
45 to 54 years	54	1	-	19	26	167
55 years and over	55	*	1	20	24	206
Party Preference:						
CDU	66	1	2	17	14	236
CVP	64	2	-	22	12	59
DPS	67	3	1	15	14	139
SPD	64	3	1	19	13	108
SPS	78	-	-	-	22	9
KPS	69	-	-	8	23	13
Other parties	100	-	-	-	-	8
No party	52	6	-	11	31	48
No opinion/No answer	36	-	*	18	46	201

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	Advantages	Disadvantages	Neither/nor	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
Occupation:						
Professionals	75%	-%	6%	19%	-%..100%	16
Businessmen	63	2	-	14	21	57
White-collar workers	73	4	-	14	9	85
Skilled laborers	73	3	1	9	14	135
Semi-skilled laborers	71	-	-	20	9	75
Domestic service	56	-	-	11	33	18
Farmers; farmhands	57	7	-	29	7	14
Housewives	44	1	1	21	33	311
Unemployed	50	-	10	20	20	10
Pensioners; retired	57	-	2	15	26	89
Students; apprentices	37	18	-	9	36	11
Religion:						
Catholics	58	2	1	16	23	610
Protestants	62	2	*	18	18	197
Others	40	-	-	-	60	5
No religion	67	-	-	22	11	9
Origin:						
Permanent resident of Saar	57	2	1	17	23	755
From West Germany	79	-	4	13	4	23
From East Germany	74	5	-	10	11	19
Other countries	46	8	-	8	38	13
No answer	36	-	-	9	55	11
City Size:						
Up to 4,999	48	2	1	27	22	324
5,000 to 49,999	65	1	1	10	23	419
50,000 to 199,999	65	4	-	8	23	78

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"Have you ever heard of the European Coal-Steel Community - the Schuman Plan, that is?

	Yes	No	No. of cases
Total Saar	64%	36%..100%	821
Sex:			
Men	83	17	413
Women	45	55	408
Education:			
Elementary school	61	39	732
Beyond elementary	92	8	89
Income:			
Up to 149 DM**	44	56	18
150 to 299 DM	46	54	61
300 to 399 DM	56	44	154
400 to 499 DM	66	34	173
500 DM and more	73	27	359
No answer	54	46	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:©			
Very active	95	5	59
Active	75	25	271
Remainder	54	46	491
Socio-Economic Status:			
Upper classes	96	4	25
Upper middle classes	81	19	175
Lower middle classes	61	39	538
Lower classes	39	61	83
Age:			
18 to 24 years	63	37	92
25 to 34 years	65	35	193
35 to 44 years	70	30	163
45 to 54 years	58	42	167
55 years and over	64	36	206
Party Preference:			
CDU	68	32	236
CVP	68	32	59
DPS	80	20	139
SPD	80	20	108
SPS	78	22	9
KPS	77	23	33
Other parties	100	..	8
No party	58	42	48
No opinion/No answer	37	63	201
Occupation:			
Professionals	100	-	16
Businessmen	86	14	57
White-collar workers	90	10	85
Skilled laborers	79	21	135
Semi-skilled laborers	69	31	75
Domestic service	67	33	18
Farmers; farmhands	57	43	14
Housewives	41	59	311
Unemployed	90	10	10
Pensioners; retired	71	29	89
Students; apprentices	64	36	11

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	Yes	No	No. of cases
Religion:			
Catholics	62%	38%..100%	610
Protestants	71	29	197
Others	80	20	5
No religion	100	-	9
Origin:			
Permanent resident of Saar	63	37	755
From West Germany	78	22	23
From East Germany	89	11	19
Other countries	77	23	13
No answer	55	45	11
City Size:			
Up to 4,999	55	45	324
5,000 to 49,999	70	30	419
50,000 to 199,999	70	30	96

CONFIDENTIAL

"Have you ever heard of the European Coal-Steel Community - the Schuman Plan, that is?"

IF "Yes":
"On the whole do you think that membership in the Coal-Steel Community is a good thing for the Saar, or don't you?"

	Good thing for the Saar	Not good thing	Qualified answer	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
Total Saar	42%	4%	2%	16%	36%..100%	821
Sex:						
Men	56	7	3	17	17	413
Women	28	1	1	15	55	408
Education:						
Elementary school	40	4	1	16	39	732
Beyond elementary	64	4	7	17	8	89
Income:						
Up to 149 DM**	22	-	-	22	56	18
150 to 299 DM	24	5	2	15	54	61
300 to 399 DM	38	5	-	13	...	154
400 to 499 DM	42	6	1	17	34	173
500 DM and more	49	4	3	17	27	359
No answer	38	2	...	14	46	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@						
Very active	78	7	2	8	5	59
Active	49	6	3	17	25	271
Remainder	34	3	1	16	46	491
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper classes	52	8	16	20	4	25
Upper middle classes	54	4	3	20	19	175
Lower middle classes	40	4	1	16	39	538
Lower classes	30	2	-	7	61	83
Age:						
18 to 24 years	44	3	-	16	37	92
25 to 34 years	42	4	2	17	35	193
35 to 44 years	45	6	2	17	30	163
45 to 54 years	41	2	1	14	42	147
55 years and over	41	5	2	16	36	206
Party Preference:						
CDU	47	3	2	16	32	236
CVP	52	2	-	14	32	59
DPS	51	9	2	18	20	139
SPD	51	7	3	19	20	108
SPS	56	-	-	22	22	9
KPS	38	23	8	8	23	13
Other parties	50	-	12	38	-	8
No party	33	6	2	17	42	48
No opinion/No answer	24	-	*	13	63	201

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	Good thing for the Saar	Not good thing	Qualified answer	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
Occupation:						
Professionals	69%	6%	6%	19%	-%..100%	16
Businessmen	59	4	2	21	14	57
White-collar workers	70	5	4	11	10	85
Skilled laborers	49	11	4	15	21	135
Semi-skilled laborers	48	3	1	17	31	75
Domestic service	56	-	-	11	33	18
Farmers; farm-hands	36	-	-	21	43	14
Housewives	24	1	1	15	59	311
Unemployed	70	-	-	20	10	10
Pensioners; retired	42	9	1	19	29	89
Students; apprentices	55	-	-	9	36	11
Religion:						
Catholics	41	4	2	15	38	610
Protestants	47	4	2	18	29	197
Others	40	-	20	20	20	5
No religion	45	33	-	22	-	9
Origin:						
Permanent resident of Saar	42	4	1	16	37	755
From West Germany	57	-	4	17	22	23
Freom East Germany	58	16	-	16	10	19
Other countries	39	15	15	8	23	13
No answer	46	-	-	9	45	11
City Size:						
Up to 4,999	35	3	1	16	45	324
5,000 to 49,999	45	5	2	18	30	419
50,000 to 199,999	58	5	1	6	30	78

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"Do you think international control should be worked out for other fields besides coal and steel, or don't you?"

	Yes, should be	No, should not	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	30%	18%	52%..100%	821
Sex:				
Men	42	24	34	413
Women	19	12	69	408
Education:				
Elementary school	28	17	55	732
Beyond elementary	52	25	23	89
Income:				
Up to 149 DM**	17	11	72	18
150 to 299 DM	21	10	69	61
300 to 399 DM	32	14	54	154
400 to 499 DM	30	18	52	173
500 DM and more	34	23	43	359
No answer	21	11	68	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@				
Very active	58	20	22	59
Active	40	22	38	271
Remainder	22	16	62	491
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	48	36	16	25
Upper middle classes	38	20	42	175
Lower middle classes	28	17	55	538
Lower classes	24	16	60	83
Age:				
18 to 24 years	28	22	50	92
25 to 34 years	36	19	45	193
35 to 44 years	28	18	54	163
45 to 54 years	31	17	52	167
55 years and over	28	16	56	206
Party Preference:				
CDU	34	19	47	236
CVP	35	24	41	59
DPS	36	24	40	139
SPD	41	21	38	108
SPS	33	33	34	9
KPS	46	31	23	13
Other parties	63	12	25	8
No party	19	21	60	48
No opinion/No answer	15	7	78	201
Occupation:				
Professionals	50	38	12	16
Businessmen	35	23	42	57
White-collar workers	49	26	25	85
Skilled laborers	35	29	36	135
Semi-skilled laborers	48	9	43	75
Domestic service	33	17	50	18
Farmers; farmhands	36	-	64	14
Housewives	16	11	73	311
Unemployed	50	20	30	10
Pensioners; retired	29	24	47	89
Students; apprentices	36	9	55	11

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	Yes, should be	No, should not	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:				
Catholics	28%	17%	55%..100%	610
Protestants	39	19	42	197
Others	40	20	40	5
No religion	44	45	11	9
Origin:				
Permanent resident of Saar	31	16	53	755
From West Germany	30	44	26	23
From East Germany	21	53	26	19
Other countries	31	46	23	13
No answer	9	36	55	11
City Size:				
Up to 4,999	22	13	65	324
5,000 to 49,999	33	23	44	419
50,000 to 199,999	51	12	37	78

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"How necessary do you consider it for France and Germany to try to achieve friendly relations with each other - absolutely necessary, very necessary, necessary, not very necessary, or not necessary at all?"

	Absolutely necessary/ very necessary	Necessary	Not very necessary/ Not necessary at all	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	55%	29%	6%	10%	100% 821
Sex:					
Men	65	24	6	5	413
Women	45	33	6	16	408
Education:					
Elementary school	54	29	6	11	732
Beyond elementary	69	25	6	-	89
Income:					
Up to 149 DM**	50	22	-	28	18
150 to 299 DM	49	26	3	22	61
300 to 399 DM	53	32	3	11	154
400 to 499 DM	57	26	8	9	173
500 DM and more	59	27	8	6	359
No answer	35	41	4	20	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:©					
Very active	74	19	2	5	59
Active	54	31	7	8	271
Remainder	54	28	6	12	491
Social-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	68	28	4	-	25
Upper middle classes	66	24	4	6	175
Lower middle classes	52	31	6	11	538
Lower classes	47	26	8	19	83
Age:					
18 to 24 years	40	36	14	10	92
25 to 34 years	50	33	7	10	193
35 to 44 years	55	29	8	8	163
45 to 54 years	63	26	2	9	167
55 years and over	62	22	2	14	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	59	30	7	4	236
CVP	78	17	3	2	59
DPS	59	33	6	2	139
SPD	54	32	9	5	108
SPS	100	-	-	-	9
KPS	61	31	8	-	13
Other parties	88	12	-	-	8
No party	48	17	12	23	48
No opinion/No answer	40	30	2	28	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	75	19	6	-	16
Businessmen	70	25	2	3	57
White-collar workers	65	26	7	2	85
Skilled laborers	61	25	8	6	135
Semi-skilled laborers	55	33	8	4	75
Domestic service	33	44	6	17	18
Farmers, farmhands	64	22	14	-	14
Housewives	46	33	5	16	311
Unemployed	70	10	10	10	10
Pensioners; retired	58	25	3	14	89
Students; apprentices	64	9	-	27	11

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	Absolutely necessary/ very necessary	Necessary	Not very necessary/ Not necessary at all	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	56%	27%	6%	11%	100% 610
Protestants	53	34	6	7	197
Others	40	20	-	40	5
No religion	67	22	11	-	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	56	27	6	11	755
From West Germany	57	39	-	4	23
From East Germany	42	53	5	-	19
Other countries	46	38	8	8	13
No answer	46	27	-	27	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	59	23	5	13	324
5,000 to 49,999	52	32	7	9	419
50,000 to 199,999	54	31	6	9	78

"In your opinion, how justified are French claims to special economic relationships in the Saar - fully justified, somewhat justified, not justified?"

	Fully to mostly justified	Somewhat justified	Not justified	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	5%	25%	40%	30%...100%	821
Sex:					
Men	6	29	51	14	413
Women	3	20	30	47	408
Education:					
Elementary school	5	23	40	32	732
Beyond elementary	6	35	45	14	89
Income:**					
Up to 149 DM	6	11	17	66	18
150 to 299 DM	3	16	38	43	61
300 to 399 DM	5	25	37	33	154
400 to 499 DM	5	27	38	30	173
500 DM and more	5	28	46	21	359
No answer	4	11	32	53	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	5	41	49	5	59
Somewhat active	5	26	49	20	271
Remainder	4	22	35	39	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	4	40	44	12	25
Upper middle classes	4	27	49	20	175
Lower middle classes	5	24	38	33	538
Lower classes	5	19	35	41	83
Age:					
Up to 24 years	3	27	29	41	92
25 to 34 years	4	24	42	30	193
35 to 44 years	4	22	47	27	163
45 to 54 years	7	29	36	28	167
55 years and over	4	22	42	32	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	3	25	44	28	236
CVP	20	41	19	20	59
DPS	2	24	61	13	139
SPD	5	31	52	12	108
SPS	11	33	34	22	9
KPS	-	8	84	8	13
Other parties	12	38	50	-	8
No party	6	21	25	48	48
No opinion/No answer	3	16	23	58	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	13	31	56	-	16
Businessmen	4	33	47	16	57
White-collar workers	4	32	50	14	85
Skilled laborers	7	30	48	15	135
Semi-skilled laborers	7	23	54	16	75
Domestic service	6	22	39	33	18
Farmers; farmhands	7	36	29	28	14
Housewives	3	20	28	49	311
Unemployed	20	20	40	20	10
Pensioners, retired	5	21	44	30	89
Students; apprentices	-	9	36	55	11

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	Fully to mostly justified	Somewhat justified	Not justified	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	4%	24%	39%	33%	610
Protestants	5	26	45	24	197
Others	20	40	-	40	5
No religion	11	33	56	-	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	5	24	40	31	755
From West Germany	4	22	57	17	23
From East Germany	-	37	37	26	19
Other countries	15	23	31	31	13
No answer	18	27	18	37	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	5	24	34	37	324
5,000 to 49,999	4	24	47	25	419
50,000 to 199,999	9	30	29	32	78

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"In your opinion, how justified are French claims to special economic relationships in the Saar - fully justified, mostly justified, somewhat justified, not justified?"

IF "Not justified" or "Don't know":
"Suppose the French insisted on some special economic relationships as the price for agreeing to a return of the Saar to Germany. In this case, would you favor or oppose the granting of such special relationships to France?"

	Favor granting benefits in this case	Oppose benefits	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
Total Saar	11%	36%	23%	30%..100%	821
Sex:					
Men	12	41	12	35	413
Women	10	32	35	23	408
Education:					
Elementary school	11	37	24	28	732
Beyond elementary	16	31	12	41	89
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	17	22	44	17	18
150 to 299 DM	3	37	41	19	61
300 to 399 DM	10	35	25	30	154
400 to 499 DM	7	36	25	32	173
500 DM and more	13	38	16	33	359
No answer	21	27	38	14	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:©					
Very active	18	34	2	46	59
Active	11	41	17	31	271
Remainder	10	34	30	26	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	20	28	8	44	25
Upper middle classes	17	35	17	31	175
Lower middle classes	9	36	26	29	538
Lower classes	10	36	30	24	83
Age:					
18 to 24 years	12	38	20	30	92
25 to 34 years	13	37	22	28	193
35 to 44 years	14	37	23	26	163
45 to 54 years	7	35	22	36	167
55 years and over	10	35	29	26	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	12	42	18	28	236
CVP	8	19	12	61	59
DPS	17	48	9	26	139
SPD	14	43	7	36	108
SPS	-	34	22	44	9
KPS	15	77	-	8	13
Other parties	38	12	-	50	8
No party	-	42	31	27	48
No opinion/No answer	8	19	53	20	201

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	Favor granting benefits in this case	Oppose benefits	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
Occupation:					
Professionals	19%	25%	12%	44%..100%	16
Businessmen	21	26	16	37	57
White-collar workers	20	30	14	36	85
Skilled laborers	6	46	11	37	135
Semi-skilled laborers	16	45	9	30	75
Domestic service	6	55	11	28	18
Farmers; farmhands	-	50	7	43	14
Housewives	9	30	38	23	311
Unemployed	10	30	20	40	10
Pensioners; retired	9	40	25	26	89
Students; apprentices	18	55	18	9	11
Religion:					
Catholics	10	36	26	28	610
Protestants	13	40	16	31	197
Others	-	-	40	60	5
No religion	11	45	-	44	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	12	36	23	29	755
From West Germany	9	52	13	26	23
From East Germany	-	42	21	37	19
Other countries	-	31	31	38	13
No answer	9	9	37	45	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	11	29	31	29	324
5,000 to 49,999	12	42	18	28	419
50,000 to 199,999	9	32	20	39	78

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"Are there any economic relationships the French now have in the Saar that you feel should not be continued in any solution of the Saar problem?"

	Yes	No	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	46%	14%	40%..100%	821
Sex:				
Men	61	16	23	413
Women	31	12	57	408
Education:				
Elementary school	44	14	42	732
Beyond elementary	65	15	20	89
Income:				
Up to 149 DM**	17	-	83	18
150 to 299 DM	30	13	57	61
300 to 399 DM	40	18	42	154
400 to 499 DM	47	10	43	173
500 DM and more	55	14	31	359
No answer	39	13	48	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@				
Very active	76	14	10	59
Active	59	9	32	271
Remainder	36	16	48	491
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	72	30	0	25
Upper middle classes	62	13	25	175
Lower middle classes	41	13	46	538
Lower classes	38	19	43	83
Age:				
18 to 24 years	39	26	35	92
25 to 34 years	49	14	37	193
35 to 44 years	56	8	36	163
45 to 54 years	38	11	51	167
55 years and over	46	14	40	206
Party Preference:				
CDU	51	12	37	236
CVP	32	31	37	59
DPS	72	9	19	139
SPD	65	13	22	108
SPS	33	22	45	9
KPS	77	8	15	13
Other parties	50	12	38	8
No party	29	21	50	48
No opinion/No answer	20	12	68	201
Occupation:				
Professionals	62	19	19	16
Businessmen	63	14	23	57
White-collar workers	67	12	21	85
Skilled laborers	56	19	25	135
Semi-skilled laborers	56	11	33	75
Domestic service	39	22	39	18
Farmers; farmhands	43	21	36	14
Housewives	31	11	58	311
Unemployed	50	-	50	10
Pensioners; retired	45	19	36	89
Students; apprentices	55	-	45	11

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	Yes	No	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:				
Catholics	44%	13%	43%	610
Protestants	53	14	33	197
Others	40	20	40	5
No religion	78	11	11	9
Origin:				
Permanent resident of Saar	46	13	41	755
From West Germany	61	17	22	23
From East Germany	42	26	32	19
Other countries	46	23	31	13
No answer	36	18	46	11
City Size:				
Up to 4,999	46	11	43	324
5,000 to 49,999	46	16	38	419
50,000 to 199,999	50	13	37	78

"How would you compare your economic situation today as against, say, five years ago - is it much better, somewhat better, somewhat worse, or much worse?"

	Much better/ somewhat better	Somewhat worse/ much worse	About the same	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	52%	11%	36%	1%...100%	821
Sex:					
Men	51	12	36	1	413
Women	52	10	37	1	408
Education:					
Elementary school	50	11	38	1	732
Beyond elementary	66	6	26	2	89
Income:**					
Up to 149 DM	45	22	33	-	18
200 to 299 DM	28	19	51	2	61
300 to 399 DM	39	16	43	2	154
400 to 499 DM	52	11	36	1	173
500 DM and more	61	7	31	1	359
No answer	48	9	41	2	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	53	10	37	-	59
Somewhat active	53	9	37	1	271
Remainder	51	12	36	1	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	64	8	24	4	25
Upper middle classes	63	6	30	1	175
Lower middle	48	11	40	1	538
Lower classes	46	18	35	1	83
Age:					
Up to 24 years	62	4	32	2	92
25 to 34 years	59	11	29	1	193
35 to 44 years	57	12	31	-	163
45 to 54 years	47	11	41	1	167
55 years and over	39	14	46	1	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	53	10	37	-	236
CVP	64	10	24	2	59
DPS	54	10	35	1	139
SPD	53	12	32	3	108
SPS	33	33	34	-	9
KPS	23	38	39	-	13
Other parties	63	-	37	-	8
No party	54	13	31	2	48
No opinion/No answer	45	10	44	1	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	63	6	31	-	16
Businessmen	58	7	35	-	57
White-collar workers	67	4	27	2	85
Skilled laborers	51	10	38	1	135
Semi-skilled laborers	56	13	31	-	75
Domestic service	50	6	44	-	18
Farmers, farmhands	72	14	14	-	14
Housewives	50	12	37	1	311
Unemployed	20	20	40	20	10
Pensioners; retired	33	19	47	1	89
Students; apprentices	36	9	55	-	11

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	Much better/ somewhat better	Somewhat worse/ much worse	About the same	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	53%	10%	36%	1%...100%	610
Protestants	47	13	38	2	197
Others	40	-	60	-	5
No religion	45	22	22	11	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	51	10	38	1	755
From West Germany	61	13	22	4	23
From East Germany	58	16	26	-	19
Other countries	61	31	8	-	13
No answer	64	9	27	-	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	55	9	36	*	324
5,000 to 49,999	50	13	36	1	419
50,000 to 199,999	49	9	41	1	78

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Which of the following proposals do you think would be the best eventual solution of the Saar problem?" (CARD)

A - Continuance of the present status of the Saar

B - A free and independent status for the Saar

C - Membership of the Saar as a separate state in a federation of European nations

D - Incorporation of the Saar into the Federal Republic of Germany, allowing France to retain special economic relationships

E - Complete political and economic integration of the Saar with the Federal Republic

	A	B	C	D	E	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	1%	8%	5%	25%	46%	15%...100%	821
Sex:							
Men	1	8	6	26	53	6	413
Women	1	8	4	23	40	24	408
Education:							
Elementary school	1	8	5	24	46	16	732
Beyond elementary	-	6	8	31	51	4	89
Income:							
Up to 149 DM**	-	11	6	28	28	27	18
150 to 299 DM	*	5	3	23	39	30	61
300 to 399 DM	2	7	6	26	44	15	154
400 to 499 DM	1	13	5	25	43	13	173
500 DM and more	1	8	6	24	51	10	359
No answer	-	4	-	25	46	25	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@							
Very active	2	3	3	31	56	5	59
Active	1	9	6	22	53	9	271
Remainder	1	8	5	26	42	18	491
Socio-Economic Status:							
Upper classes	-	4	12	20	64	-	25
Upper middle classes	-	8	3	26	54	9	175
Lower middle classes	1	7	6	25	45	16	538
Lower classes	2	15	2	23	36	22	83
Age:							
18 to 24 years	3	15	2	24	39	17	92
25 to 34 years	1	10	8	24	44	13	193
35 to 44 years	1	6	4	24	53	12	163
45 to 54 years	-	7	4	24	49	16	167
55 years and over	1	6	5	27	45	16	206
Party Preference:							
CDU	1	6	5	26	54	8	236
CVP	7	24	17	34	8	10	59
DPS	1	5	1	22	70	1	139
SPD	-	1	3	30	65	1	108
SPS	-	11	22	22	22	23	9
KPD	-	8	8	30	46	8	13
Other parties	-	38	12	12	38	-	8
No party	-	15	4	33	23	25	48
No opinion/No answer	*	9	4	17	30	40	201

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	A	B	C	D	E	Don't know	No. of cases
Occupation:							
Professionals	-%	6%	6%	31%	57%	-%...100%	16
Businessmen	-	5	7	23	54	11	57
White-collar workers	-	6	7	30	51	6	85
Skilled laborers	2	10	7	29	45	7	135
Semi-skilled laborers	-	12	5	22	56	5	75
Domestic service	-	6	6	27	50	11	18
Farmers, farmhands	-	14	7	36	43	-	14
Housewives	1	8	4	21	41	25	311
Unemployed	-	10	-	20	50	20	10
Pensioners, retired	2	6	3	25	49	15	89
Students, apprentices	-	-	-	18	46	36	11
Religion:							
Catholics	1	9	5	25	44	16	610
Protestants	1	6	5	25	54	9	197
Others	-	-	-	40	20	40	5
No religion	-	11	-	33	56	-	9
Origin:							
Permanent resident of Saar	1	8	5	25	46	15	755
From West Germany	4	4	-	18	70	4	23
From East Germany	-	5	16	21	47	11	19
Other countries	-	15	8	23	39	15	13
No answer	-	9	9	27	18	37	11
City Size:							
Up to 4,999	2	7	5	26	40	20	324
5,000 to 49,999	1	8	5	22	54	10	419
50,000 to 199,999	1	12	8	33	29	17	78

"If the Saar becomes a part of the Federal Republic, do you think that the Saar parties should be continued as at present, or should they be amalgated with the present West German parties?"

	Continue present Saar parties	Amalgate with West German parties	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	23%	48%	29%...100%	821
Sex:				
Men	25	59	16	413
Women	22	36	42	408
Education:				
Elementary school	24	46	30	732
Beyond elementary	18	63	19	89
Income:				
Up to 149 DM**	33	11	56	18
150 to 299 DM	18	43	39	61
300 to 399 DM	27	42	31	154
400 to 499 DM	21	46	33	173
500 DM and more	24	57	19	359
No answer	20	32	48	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@				
Very active	19	69	12	59
Active	29	54	17	271
Remainder	21	42	37	491
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	12	72	16	25
Upper middle classes	19	63	18	175
Lower middle classes	24	45	31	538
Lower classes	35	26	39	83
Age:				
18 to 24 years	28	37	35	92
25 to 34 years	25	48	27	193
35 to 44 years	24	47	29	163
45 to 54 years	20	50	30	167
55 years and over	22	51	27	206
Party Preference:				
CDU	22	51	27	236
CVP	53	32	15	59
DPS	30	55	15	139
SPD	24	65	11	108
SPS	33	56	11	9
KPS	31	69	-	13
Other parties	25	62	13	8
No party	19	46	35	48
No opinion/No answer	17	27	56	201
Occupation:				
Professionals	19	75	6	16
Businessmen	21	65	14	57
White-collar workers	21	65	14	85
Skilled laborers	30	55	15	135
Semi-skilled laborers	24	53	23	75
Domestic service	22	39	39	18
Farmers; farmhands	21	43	36	14
Housewives	22	34	44	311
Unemployed	50	30	20	10
Pensioners; retired	25	50	25	89
Students; apprentices	-	45	55	11

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	Continue present Saar parties	Amalgate with West German parties	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:				
Catholics	25%	44%	31%	610
Protestants	20	59	21	197
Others	-	60	40	5
No religion	-	89	11	9
Origin:				
Permanent resident of Saar	23	48	29	755
From West Germany	26	65	9	23
From East Germany	31	37	32	19
Other countries	8	54	38	13
No answer	27	36	37	11
City Size:				
Up to 4,999	24	43	33	324
5,000 to 49,999	22	51	27	419
50,000 to 199,999	28	50	22	78

"What should be the status of the Saar District if it becomes part of the Federal Republic - should it be a separate state like the other states in West Germany or should it form part of Land Rheinland-Pfalz?"

	Separate state	Part of Rheinland/ Pfalz	Other (What?)	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	56%	24%	1%	19%...100%	821
Sex:					
Men	64	25	2	9	413
Women	50	22	*	28	408
Education:					
Elementary school	55	25	1	19	732
Beyond elementary	73	14	2	11	89
Income:**					
Up to 149 DM	39	28	-	33	18
150 to 299 DM	59	11	2	28	61
300 to 399 DM	49	30	1	20	154
400 to 499 DM	55	25	1	19	173
500 DM and more	61	24	1	14	359
No answer	61	14	2	23	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	63	20	7	10	59
Somewhat active	59	25	1	15	271
Remainder	55	24	*	21	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	72	20	4	4	25
Upper middle classes	63	22	1	14	175
Lower middle classes	54	25	1	20	538
Lower classes	54	21	1	24	83
Age:					
Up to 24 years	65	17	-	18	92
25 to 34 years	66	17	*	17	193
35 to 44 years	58	24	-	18	163
45 to 54 years	53	27	1	19	167
55 years and over	46	30	3	21	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	57	28	1	14	236
CVP	74	17	2	7	59
DPS	64	27	1	8	139
SPD	54	36	-	10	108
SPS	78	11	-	11	9
KPS	61	31	8	-	13
Other parties	75	25	-	-	8
No party	56	23	2	19	48
No opinion/No answer	45	12	*	43	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	56	31	13	-	16
Businessmen	63	21	-	16	57
White-collar workers	69	19	1	11	85
Skilled laborers	64	24	1	11	135
Semi-skilled laborers	60	32	1	7	75
Domestic service	39	28	-	33	18
Farmers; farmhands	79	21	-	-	14
Housewives	49	22	1	28	311
Unemployed	60	20	10	10	10
Pensioners; retired	51	29	2	18	89
Students; apprentices	55	-	-	45	11

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* Less than one half of one per cent.

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	Separate state	Part of Rheinland/ Pfalz	Other (What?)	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	56%	23%	1%	20%...100%	610
Protestants	61	23	-	16	197
Others	20	40	-	40	5
No religion	22	78	-	-	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	56	24	1	19	755
From West Germany	69	22	-	9	23
From East Germany	74	16	-	10	19
Other countries	77	8	-	15	13
No answer	64	9	-	27	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	52	26	1	21	324
5,000 to 49,999	59	22	1	18	419
50,000 to 199,999	63	22	-	15	78

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"What are your feelings about the United States?"

	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	30%	32%	10%	28%...100%	821
Sex:					
Men	31	38	13	18	413
Women	29	26	6	39	408
Education:					
Elementary school	29	31	9	31	732
Beyond elementary	41	41	11	7	89
Income:**					
Up to 149 DM	22	22	-	56	18
150 to 299 DM	15	25	16	44	61
300 to 399 DM	30	26	8	36	154
400 to 499 DM	25	35	11	29	173
500 DM and more	35	36	10	19	359
No answer	32	25	4	39	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:©					
Very active	37	41	12	10	59
Somewhat active	29	36	11	24	271
Remainder	29	29	9	33	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	40	52	8	-	25
Upper middle classes	36	37	11	16	175
Lower middle classes	29	30	9	32	538
Lower classes	20	27	12	41	83
Age:					
Up to 24 years	37	34	2	27	92
25 to 34 years	33	36	6	25	193
35 to 44 years	25	38	9	28	163
45 to 54 years	27	26	16	31	167
55 years and over	30	28	12	30	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	38	30	8	24	236
CVP	44	32	5	19	59
DPS	28	47	13	12	139
SPD	21	42	13	24	108
SPS	45	22	22	11	9
KPS	23	15	46	16	13
Other parties	38	50	-	12	8
No party	25	27	17	31	48
No opinion/No answer	22	21	5	52	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	37	38	19	6	16
Businessmen	35	38	9	18	57
White-collar workers	43	40	8	9	85
Skilled laborers	29	37	12	22	135
Semi-skilled laborers	27	39	12	22	75
Domestic service	33	39	-	28	18
Farmers; farmhands	36	14	21	29	14
Housewives	27	26	7	40	311
Unemployed	40	50	-	10	10
Pensioners; retired	22	28	16	34	89
Students; apprentices	55	18	-	27	11

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	32%	30%	9%	29%...100%	610
Protestants	25	40	11	24	197
Others	-	20	40	40	5
No religion	11	45	11	33	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	30	32	9	29	755
From West Germany	39	39	9	13	23
From East Germany	32	42	10	16	19
Other countries	15	31	15	39	13
No answer	27	18	27	28	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	28	31	9	32	324
5,000 to 49,999	30	33	9	28	419
50,000 to 199,999	38	30	17	15	78

"How about West Germany?"

	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	72%	12%	1%	15%...100%	821
Sex:					
Men	74	13	3	10	413
Women	69	11	*	20	408
Education:					
Elementary school	71	11	2	16	732
Beyond elementary	81	17	-	2	89
Income:**					
Up to 149 DM	56	22	-	22	18
150 to 299 DM	67	7	2	24	61
300 to 399 DM	74	11	1	14	154
400 to 499 DM	69	11	2	18	173
500 DM and more	74	14	2	10	359
No answer	66	7	-	27	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:©					
Very active	72	17	3	8	59
Somewhat active	71	12	3	14	271
Remainder	72	11	1	16	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	76	24	-	-	25
Upper middle classes	82	10	1	7	175
Lower middle classes	68	12	2	18	538
Lower classes	67	14	2	17	83
Age:					
Up to 24 years	64	15	1	20	92
25 to 34 years	73	12	2	13	193
35 to 44 years	71	16	2	11	163
45 to 54 years	67	12	1	20	167
55 years and over	78	7	1	14	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	79	8	1	12	236
CVP	61	25	-	14	59
DPS	84	12	1	3	139
SPD	80	9	1	10	108
SPS	78	11	-	11	9
KPS	39	23	23	15	13
Other parties	50	38	-	12	8
No party	73	10	2	15	48
No opinion/No answer	55	12	2	31	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	75	19	-	6	16
Businessmen	74	19	-	7	57
White-collar workers	86	8	1	5	85
Skilled laborers	72	13	4	11	135
Semi-skilled laborers	67	17	5	11	75
Domestic service	78	11	-	11	18
Farmers; farmhands	79	7	-	14	14
Housewives	69	10	*	21	311
Unemployed	70	30	-	-	10
Pensioners; retired	67	8	2	23	89
Students; apprentices	64	18	-	18	11

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	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	71%	12%	1%	16%...100%	610
Protestants	75	12	1	12	197
Others	20	-	40	40	5
No religion	78	-	11	11	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	71	12	2	15	755
From West Germany	78	13	-	9	23
From East Germany	68	21	-	11	19
Other countries	54	23	-	23	13
No answer	64	-	9	27	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	74	7	2	17	324
5,000 to 49,999	70	13	1	16	419
50,000 to 199,999	67	27	1	5	78

"How about France?"

	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	15%	35%	31%	19%...100%	821
Sex:					
Men	17	34	37	12	413
Women	14	35	25	26	408
Education:					
Elementary school	14	34	32	20	732
Beyond elementary	24	46	21	9	89
Income:**					
Up to 149 DM	16	28	28	28	18
150 to 299 DM	11	30	28	31	61
300 to 399 DM	14	35	30	21	154
400 to 499 DM	15	33	32	20	173
500 DM and more	17	36	35	12	359
No answer	18	37	11	34	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:©					
Very active	19	29	44	8	59
Somewhat active	14	35	35	16	271
Remainder	16	35	27	22	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	16	48	28	8	25
Upper middle classes	17	40	31	12	175
Lower middle classes	15	32	31	22	538
Lower classes	14	36	28	22	83
Age:					
Up to 24 years	17	34	27	22	92
25 to 34 years	14	38	30	18	193
35 to 44 years	17	34	31	18	163
45 to 54 years	16	32	32	20	167
55 years and over	15	35	32	18	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	16	38	32	14	236
CVP	31	36	20	13	59
DPS	10	39	42	9	139
SPD	13	37	37	13	108
SPS	45	22	22	11	9
KPS	15	23	39	23	13
Other parties	12	25	38	25	8
No party	21	31	27	21	48
No opinion/No answer	13	28	22	37	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	25	31	38	6	16
Businessmen	17	35	32	16	57
White-collar workers	24	41	26	9	85
Skilled laborers	18	30	39	13	135
Semi-skilled laborers	13	33	43	11	75
Domestic service	11	44	28	17	18
Farmers; farmhands	-	36	50	14	14
Housewives	13	35	25	27	311
Unemployed	20	50	30	-	10
Pensioners; retired	11	32	31	26	89
Students; apprentices	27	37	18	18	11

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	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	16%	33%	31%	20%...100%	610
Protestants	16	39	29	16	197
Others	-	-	60	40	5
No religion	-	33	45	22	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	15	35	31	19	755
From West Germany	22	17	48	13	23
From East Germany	10	48	5	37	19
Other countries	38	-	54	8	13
No answer	36	9	18	37	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	13	34	32	21	324
5,000 to 49,999	16	34	31	19	419
50,000 to 199,999	26	42	23	9	78

"How about Russia?"

	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	3%	10%	62%	25%...100%	821
Sex:					
Men	4	13	64	19	413
Women	2	7	59	32	408
Education:					
Elementary school	3	9	62	26	732
Beyond elementary	3	19	62	16	89
Income:**					
Up to 149 DM	-	6	55	39	18
150 to 299 DM	7	5	52	36	61
300 to 399 DM	3	12	57	28	154
400 to 499 DM	3	10	63	24	173
500 DM and more	3	10	66	21	359
No answer	-	11	59	30	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	7	17	57	19	59
Somewhat active	2	10	62	26	271
Remainder	3	9	62	26	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	8	20	64	8	25
Upper middle classes	3	9	74	14	175
Lower middle classes	3	9	58	30	538
Lower classes	6	14	56	24	83
Age:					
Up to 24 years	5	18	45	32	92
25 to 34 years	4	14	61	21	193
35 to 44 years	3	8	68	21	163
45 to 54 years	2	4	66	28	167
55 years and over	2	9	61	28	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	1	10	66	23	236
CVP	5	7	64	24	59
DPS	6	6	76	12	139
SPD	2	17	62	19	108
SPS	-	11	67	22	9
KPS	31	38	8	23	13
Other parties	-	-	75	25	8
No party	6	8	59	27	48
No opinion/No answer	1	9	48	42	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	6	19	62	13	16
Businessmen	5	12	64	19	57
White-collar workers	1	14	61	24	85
Skilled laborers	4	15	62	19	135
Semi-skilled laborers	3	17	65	15	75
Domestic service	-	6	83	11	18
Farmers; farmhands	7	-	72	21	14
Housewives	2	5	60	33	311
Unemployed	-	10	90	-	10
Pensioners; retired	6	8	53	33	89
Students; apprentices	9	18	55	18	11

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	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	2%	9%	62%	27%...100%	610
Protestants	5	12	64	19	197
Others	-	20	40	40	5
No religion	11	22	45	22	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	3	10	61	26	755
From West Germany	-	9	78	13	23
From East Germany	5	16	58	21	19
Other countries	8	15	62	15	13
No answer	9	-	64	27	11
City Size:					
Up to 4,999	2	8	64	26	324
5,000 to 49,999	3	11	60	26	419
50,000 to 199,999	8	17	60	15	78

"How about Great Britain?"

	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Total Saar	22%	34%	10%	34%...100%	821
Sex:					
Men	25	38	15	22	413
Women	19	30	5	46	408
Education:					
Elementary school	21	33	9	37	732
Beyond elementary	33	45	12	10	89
Income:**					
Up to 149 DM	11	28	-	61	18
150 to 299 DM	16	25	13	46	61
300 to 399 DM	17	32	11	40	154
400 to 499 DM	20	36	8	36	173
500 DM and more	27	36	11	26	359
No answer	20	36	5	39	56
Opinion Leadership Scale:©					
Very active	32	42	14	12	59
Somewhat active	23	35	13	29	271
Remainder	20	33	8	39	491
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	40	44	16	-	25
Upper middle classes	26	41	10	23	175
Lower middle classes	20	32	9	39	538
Lower classes	23	29	10	38	83
Age:					
Up to 24 years	30	33	9	28	92
25 to 34 years	27	34	7	32	193
35 to 44 years	23	37	11	29	163
45 to 54 years	17	33	13	37	167
55 years and over	18	34	9	39	206
Party Preference:					
CDU	28	34	8	30	236
CVP	25	43	8	24	59
DPS	26	44	13	17	139
SPD	18	43	14	25	108
SPS	22	33	11	34	9
KPS	23	31	23	23	13
Other parties	-	37	38	25	8
No party	17	31	10	42	48
No opinion/No answer	16	21	6	57	201
Occupation:					
Professionals	31	31	25	13	16
Businessmen	30	35	12	23	57
White-collar workers	31	50	8	11	85
Skilled laborers	23	35	15	27	135
Semi-skilled laborers	23	37	16	24	75
Domestic service	33	22	-	45	18
Farmers; farmhands	36	21	29	14	14
Housewives	17	30	4	49	311
Unemployed	40	40	-	20	10
Pensioners; retired	15	31	16	38	89
Students; retired	46	36	-	18	11

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	Very good to good opinion	Fair opinion	Bad to very bad opinion	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	21%	32%	10%	37%...100%	610
Protestants	26	39	10	25	197
Others	-	40	20	40	5
No religion	22	56	-	22	9
Origin:					
Permanent resident of Saar	21	34	10	35	755
From West Germany	39	35	13	13	23
From East Germany	16	47	11	26	19
Other countries	31	23	8	38	13
No answer	37	27	9	27	11
City Size:					
Up 4,999	20	31	9	40	324
5,000 to 49,999	23	34	11	32	419
50,000 to 199,999	30	47	6	17	78

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